B U L L E T I N O F

Friends Historical Association

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B U L L E T I N O F

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Vol. 34 Autumn Number, 1945 No. 2

FIRST FRIENDS AT NEW GARDEN IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert

NEW GARDEN MEETING in North Carolina has been a center of Southern Quakerism since the middle of the eighteenth century, when the migration of Pennsylvania Quakers to piedmont Carolina began. There had been an organized Yearly Meeting in Eastern Carolina since 1698 (although the minutes do not begin until 1708). By 1776 Friends had moved into the Cane Creek - New Garden area in such numbers that it seemed advisable to ask the Yearly Meeting to meet on alternate years in that locality. The request was not granted until 1784, and the first yearly session to convene at New Garden was that of 1791. Since then 120 of the 248 sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting have been held at New Garden.

In 1837 New Garden Boarding School, ancestor to Guilford College, was built not far from the old meeting house; in 1881 the Yearly Meeting gave its new meeting house built only a few years before to the school to supply the need for a men's dormitory and class rooms, and the Yearly Meeting convened at High Point from 1883 until 1904. The present meeting house built in 1912 belongs both to the monthly meeting and the yearly meeting and stands squarely across the line dividing college property and meeting property, thus typifying the unity which has always existed between college and meeting.

The first settlers brought the name with them from New Garden Meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania. It in turn had been named for an earlier New Garden, that in County

Carlow in Ireland.[1] There is a pleasant tradition that the New Garden in North Carolina was named out of the admiration that the settlers felt in finding their "new garden" spot,[2] yet as late as 1833 Rowland Greene, a visiting Friend from Rhode Island, remarked that the name was liable to "lead the mind of a stranger into an error" because the meeting house stood in an old and majestic wilderness containing about fifty acres.[3] Addison Coffin also suggested that the first residents considered the place as their new Garden of Eden, but so ancient an association as that must give way to County Carlow, and the literal qualities of the name yield before its Quaker connotations.

No one knows exactly when the first Friends came through the majestic wilderness to settle at New Garden, but a few families were there by 1751. That year Friends at Cane Creek[4] requested a monthly meeting, informing Perquimans and Little River Quarterly Meeting: "There is Thirty Families and upwards of Friends settled in them Parts and Desire still in behalf of themselves and their Friends to have a Monthly Meeting settled amongst them." Some of the thirty families lived at New Garden, for the first piece of business to come before Cane Creek Monthly Meeting (7th day of 10th month, 1751) was a request from Friends of New Garden for permission to hold a meeting for worship. At first there was no meeting house, and one of the stories Nathan Hunt loved to tell to the earliest students of New Garden Boarding School concerns the outward form which this pioneer meeting sometimes took. Two great logs were so placed as to form the long sides of a narrow triangle. Those who sat

[1] Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1902), p. 130.

[2] Addison Coffin, "Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina, Traditions and Reminiscences." MS., p. 144. All manuscripts are in the vault of North Carolina Yearly Meeting at Guilford College, unless otherwise indicated.

[3] MS. Journal of Rowland Greene (1770-1857), 13 vols., in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library, vol. xiii, letter 44, New Garden, North Carolina, 11 mo. 8, 1833.

[4] Cane Creek Meeting in Alamance County was the first permanent meeting settled by the Pennsylvania Friends. It belonged to Perquimans and Little River in Eastern Carolina at first, becoming a monthly meeting in 1751.

at the head of the meeting sat at the point of that triangle; Friends in their sedate garb took their places on the logs (perhaps the women on one, the men on another) and then to prevent their horses from straying during the extended silent meeting, these horses were driven into the open triangle and its end was closed by a third log.[5] Truly the minds of these first settlers must have been proof against distraction if they could worship with horses penned in their midst.

They also met in a private dwelling, and it was the home of Thomas Beals which they chose. William Hunt, one of the early members, kept a list entitled "Account of the Public Friends that hath visited New Garden in Truth's Service from the first settlement of that Meeting in the year 1752."[6] It begins with this entry: "Daniel Matthews from Frederick County, Maryland, before any Meeting House was built, had a meeting at the house of Thomas Beals 2nd Mo., 1752." In all, this list contains the names of ninety-three public Friends who had the freedom of the meeting between 1752 and 1778. Many of the names are well known, and the list bears witness to the early importance of New Garden Meeting.

One of these visitors, the English Friend Catherine Payton Phillips, kept a journal, and that ancient volume contains the earliest description of New Garden Meeting.

> The 24th [12 month, 1753], we went to New Garden and staid amongst friends in that settlement till the 28th. This was a new settlement of Friends, and we were the first from Europe that had visited them, or travelled in these parts in the service of Truth.
>
> We had pretty close service among them, and laboured for the establishment of a meeting for ministers and elders in their monthly meetings; which we found was much wanting: and we had reason to hope that the proposition would be adopted; divers Friends being convinced of its usefulness, and seemed glad that it became our concern to recommend it. We found a sincere-hearted remnant in this meeting, unto whom the Lord united us; but there was also a dead, formal, professing spirit, under which the living were sorely oppressed; as well as under flashy wordy ministry.[7]

[5] David Hunt, "Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt," in *Christian Worker*, xiii (1883), 184-185.

[6] MS. at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, case 14, box 1.

[7] *Memoirs of the Life of Catherine Phillips* (Philadelphia, 1798), p. 80.

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Thomas Beals, at whose home the meeting for worship was held, is an interesting figure. He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, son of John and Sarah Bowater Beals. John Beals removed to Monocacy, Carroll's Manor in Maryland, and his son Thomas married Sarah Ankram there and moved on to Hopewell, near Winchester, Virginia. In 1748 Thomas Beals and his family came on to North Carolina settling first at Cane Creek, then at New Garden. It is possible that Thomas Beals started the migration of Friends into the area, also that he carried the name from Pennsylvania. This is the evidence for the first surmise: Gersham Perdue in his "Memoranda of the Early Settlement of Friends in the North-West Territory" wrote referring to Thomas Beals, "His family accompanied by two young men whose names I do not recollect removed to near New Garden where few other white people then lived."[8] For the second surmise there is only the fact that John Beals' family lived at Nottingham, which belonged to New Garden Quarterly Meeting in Pennsylvania, and that Sarah Bowater's family moved to New Garden in Pennsylvania in 1720.[9]

Three of the children of John and Sarah Bowater Beals are among the earliest settlers at New Garden, for Mary Anne Beals married Thomas Hunt and Prudence Beals married Richard Williams. Both families were at New Garden before 1757, for in that year Richard Williams gave the land on which the meeting house was to be built, and Thomas Hunt was named as one of the trustees.[10] The Hunt and Williams families remained at New Garden but Thomas Beals did not. Before long, he was off to Westfield and newer country. By 1781 he was in Virginia, by 1785 at Lost Creek in Tennessee, by 1799 in Ohio, not far from Chillicothe. He died there in 1801.

[8] Gersham Perdue's "Memoranda . . ." was written in the form of a letter addressed to William Foster and dated 3/16/1871. It is quoted entire in Addison Coffin's manuscript cited above, p. 30 ff, and is the basis for Harlow Lindley's article, "First Friends Minister in Ohio," *Ohio State Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, liii (1944), 1-6.

[9] George Smith, *History of Delaware County* (Philadelphia, 1862), pp. 445 and 448.

[10] "Register of Deeds," book II, p. 219, Rowan County, North Carolina.

Now Thomas Beals has an enduring influence not so much because of these events or even because he became the first Friends' minister in Ohio, but because of a chance encounter which changed one man's life. In 1775 he started out with three Friends to pay a visit to the Delaware Indians. Just after they passed a fort near Clinch Mountain in Virginia, the soldiers sallied forth, arrested the Friends on the charge of being confederates of hostile Indians, and brought them back for trial. When Thomas Beals said he was a preacher, one of the officers required him to preach a sermon before they went in for the trial, and it seemed to Thomas that the way was then open for him to hold a meeting with the soldiers. One young soldier who had been a Quaker was deeply stirred by the message and came back into the Society of Friends; his name was Beverly Milner, and he was the great-grandfather of Clyde A. Milner, President of Guilford College. Thus back through the generations Thomas Beals makes a link between New Garden's earliest days and the present. Thomas Beals's sermon was successful in another respect also; the charges against the Quakers were withdrawn and they were well entertained at the fort.

Although we cannot name the first families of New Garden in the order of their arrival, we know that the settlement grew rapidly. Within three years, there were forty families of Friends here. The evidence comes from the Minutes of Perquimans and Little River Quarterly Meeting, 5/25/1754.

> Friends at New Garden requested this meeting to Grant them the privilege of holding a Monthly Meeting amongst them by Reason of the hardship they underwent in Attending the Monthly Meeting at Cane Creek; and it appearing to this meeting that there is Near or Quite Forty Families of Friends seated in them parts; In consideration of which, this meeting thought proper to grant them there request.

A complete list of the forty families of "them parts" cannot be made, but the early minutes of New Garden contain the names of Friends who never presented certificates of removal, and these are considered to be the original members. William Wade Hinshaw in the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, volume I, North Carolina Yearly Meeting,* lists the heads of seventeen families probably among the original forty. They are

as follows: Thomas Beals, Benjamin Beeson from Deep River, William Beeson, Abraham Cook, Daniel Dillon, Eleazar Hunt, William Hunt, Mordecai Mendenhall from Deep River, John Mills, Henry Mills, Hur Mills, Thomas Mills, Benjamin Rudduck, John Rudduck, Thomas Thornbrugh, Thomas Vestal, and Richard Williams. The two men from Deep River are included in the list since New Garden when it was first set up included both Deep River and Center. That circumstance affects the statistics for it means that the forty families were spread over a rather wide area; Deep River is six miles southwest of New Garden and Center eighteen miles southeast.

After 1754 it is easy to compile lists of members, for each family presented its certificate of removal, or each individual not formerly a Friend came under the care of Friends for a time, then requested that he be joined in membership.

Until the opening of the Revolutionary War New Garden Meeting did a thriving business in certificates, for it was growing rapidly. The first great migration came from Pennsylvania and Virginia between 1754 and 1770; the Nantucket migration began in 1771 and ended abruptly in 1775. The third migration, although it began in 1760-61 with a few families from Eastern Carolina, did not reach flood tide until the great old meetings near the coast began to move into central Carolina and the beckoning West in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Warrington Meeting in York County, Pennsylvania, sent the largest number from a single meeting in Pennsylvania or Virginia. Twenty-two certificates were received, many for whole families. The list consists of the names of John Beeson, Isaac Cox,*[11] Peter Cox,* Nathan, Peter,* and Zacharias Dicks, Jacob* and Abraham* Elliott, Jeams and Aaron Frazier,

[11] Certificates including wife or wife and children are marked with the asterisk. A few of these certificates represent a very short period of residence in North Carolina. Other certificates represent the second trip to North Carolina rather than the first, since New Garden had issued certificates to Warrington or other Pennsylvania meetings. For example, Benjamin Ruddock's name appears in the minutes before he presented any certificate. In 1755 he returned a certificate granted to Warrington, in 1761 he got one to the same meeting, and in 1763 he returned to New Garden with another certificate from Warrington.

Samuel Fisher, Mical Hough, Isaac Jones,* Thomas Kendall, Finley McGrew, Joseph Ogburn, Isaac Pidgin, Samuel Pope, Benjamin Ruddock, William Smith,* Roger Waters, and Thomas Willson.

Eight certificates were received from Bradford Meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania, the persons being Jeams,* Phineas, John,* Richard, and John Mendenhall; Samuel Millikin, Eleazar Worth and Abraham Woodward.

Thomas Dennis,* Thomas Dennis, Jr., John Maries (Maris),* Moses Mendenhall, William Reynolds * were received from New Garden Meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania; James Brown,* James Jonson,* John Rich * from East Nottingham, once a subordinate meeting for New Garden, Pennsylvania; Richard Bradley * came from Chester Meeting, now in Delaware County; William Thatcher,* John Wall,* Isaac Widows, Jr., from Concord Meeting, now in Delaware County; Samuel Stanfield * from Uwchlan Meeting in Chester County; Joseph Unthank * and Samuel Pearson * from Richland Meeting in Bucks County; Stephen Mendenhall from Sadsbury Meeting in Lancaster County.

The migrations from Virginia were small and compact, usually centering about a few families and occurring within a short space of time. Most of the families were from Pennsylvania; they had lived in Virginia for a few years and were ready to move on into Carolina.

The migration from Cedar Creek Meeting in Hanover County centers about the years 1766-7 with seven of the eleven certificates bearing those dates. The Friends were David Brooks,* Thomas Elmore, Obadiah Harris,* James Harris, Phillip Hoggatt, Robert,* John,* and William * Johnson, John Payne,* Hezekiah Sanders,* and William Stanley.* Incidentally, John Payne was the father of Dolly Madison, who was born at New Garden.

Caroline Meeting, which according to Stephen B. Weeks [12] is identical with Cedar Creek, sent other members of several of these families; seven of the nine certificates are dated in 1764

[12] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), table facing p. 330.

and 1765. Members transferring to New Garden were Joseph Hoggatt, Jeams * and Talton Johnson, William Lane,* John Sanders,* John Sanders, Jr., Strangeman, Nathan, and Zachariah Stanley. Anthony Hoggatt and his wife transferred from Camp Creek in Virginia.

Ten certificates were issued to New Garden from Hopewell Meeting in Frederick County, Virginia. They were for the following: John Beals, Richard,* Isaac, Sr.,* and Nathel Beeson, Benjamin Brittain, Joseph Hiatt, James Langley, Abraham Potter, Simeon Taylor, and Jeams Wright.*

Six Friends, some with families, came from Fairfax Meeting in Waterford (now in Loudoun County, Virginia). They were David Bailey, William Brazelton,* George Hiatt, William Kersey,* Edward Norton, and Micajah Stanley. Joseph Pattison and family were received from "Hannorico" Meeting, which would seem to be Henrico in Henrico County, Virginia. This completes the list of Friends received on certificate by New Garden between 1754 and 1770 except for the small migration from Perquimans and Pasquotank in Eastern Carolina. In 1760 Henry, Joseph, Jacob, and Thomas Lamb came from Perquimans; in 1761 Henry Powell * and John Stone * transferred, and in 1766 Jesse Henley arrived from Pasquotank. In the same period, 1754-1770, New Garden received fourteen certificates from Cane Creek Meeting, which had been the superior meeting until New Garden received permission to hold its own monthly meeting. These probably represent the effort to rearrange membership more conveniently rather than a change in residence, since several of the families took membership at Center, which lies between New Garden and Cane Creek, as soon as it was set up.

It has always seemed a pleasant and appropriate thing that New Garden should be mentioned by name in two of the outstanding books written in colonial America: John Woolman's *Journal* and Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer.*

John Woolman was a first cousin of Eleazar Hunt and of William Hunt, Nathan's father. These men were among New Garden's original members. In 1757, John Woolman was in Virginia and was moved to write an "Epistle to Friends in the

Back Settlements of North Carolina," namely Cane Creek and New Garden. These paragraphs contain his advice for the new meeting.

First my Dear Friends, dwell in Humility, and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being Single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. . . . While I write, the youth comes fresh in my way. Dear young people, Choose God for your portion, Love this Truth, and be not ashamed of it. . . . And now Dear Friends and Brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a Province, I beseech you in the Love of Jesus Christ, to wisely consider the force of your Examples, and think how much your Successors may be thereby affected. . . . The works of Righteousness are peace, and the Effects of Righteousness are quietness and assurance for ever.

Dwell here, my Dear Friends; and then in Remote and Solitary Desarts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God in Truth and Reality, there is Safety for us, for he is a Strong Hold in the day of Trouble, and knoweth them that trust in him. I am in true love your friend J. W.[13]

The Crèvecoeur passage sounds quite different, for it was written by an exuberant Frenchman. Incidentally he never came to North Carolina. When he wrote this, Quakers in Nantucket had just heard of the beauties of New Garden, and their great migration into this community was on its way. He says that Nantucket Quakers sometimes have emigrated like bees, in regular and connected swarms, and then offers the following description of New Garden:

There they have founded a beautiful settlement, known by the name of *New Garden*, contiguous to the famous one which the Moravians have at Bethabara, Bethamia, and Salem, on Yadkin River. No spot of earth can be more beautiful; it is composed of gentle hills, of easy declivities, excellent low lands, accompanied by different brooks which traverse this settlement. I never saw a soil that rewards men so early for their labours and disbursements.[14]

The only disadvantage he sees to life in North Carolina is that it is a place "where mankind reap too much, do not toil

[13] *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, edited by Amelia Mott Gummere (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 197-199.

[14] J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1904), p. 186.

enough, and are liable to enjoy too fast the benefits of life." For himself, he would prefer the shores of the Kennebec, where life is hard and men must work.

If Nantucket Quakers ever heard Crèvecoeur express this preference, it did not trouble them. Between 1771 and 1775, New Garden Meeting received 43 certificates from Nantucket. The following Friends, many with families, were those who came: Tristram,* Francis, Jr., and Timothy Barnard; Benjamin Barney; Richard Beard; Reuben Bunker; Charles Clasby;* Libni, William, Jr., Barnabas, William, Seth,* Samuel,* Peter, and Joseph Coffin; Peter Coggeshall; Thomas Davis;* Richard, William, Stephen, Jr., Stephen, Sr., and Barzellai Gardner; Jonathan Gifford; John,* Jethro, David, Enoch, Nathaniel, Matthew,* Paul,* and Joseph Macy; Jonathan Ray; Timothy Russell; William Stanton; William, Gayer,* and Paul * Starbuck; Nathaniel Swain;* John Sweet; William Way; Daniel,* Francis, and Jonah Worth.

While this Nantucket migration was pouring in (at one meeting, that on 11mo, 27, 1773, six families with a total of thirty-six individuals were received) a few more Friends from Virginia and Pennsylvania meetings joined New Garden. Richard Haworth,* William Reece, and Jesse Pugh came from Hopewell; Jehu Stuart * from Caroline; Bolin Clark from South River in Bedford County, Virginia. Joseph Iddings * and Thomas Pierce came from Bradford, Pennsylvania, and Daniel Bills from Kingwood, New Jersey.

Thus, the tide of immigration flowed into the meeting full and strong, giving it such vitality that it was able to establish other meetings in North Carolina and also able to withstand the migrations into the new west which were so soon to begin. Stephen B. Weeks, speaking of the founding of New Garden, says that the meeting was destined to become the most important in the state and the mother of many others.[15] The first of those to which he referred were Deep River, which requested a meeting for worship before the end of the first year, 1754; then Center, which was established as a monthly meeting in 1773, and Westfield in Surry County, which was established in 1771,

[15] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 105.

as Friends took their first step on from New Garden to the west. Pioneer meetings beyond Westfield, such as Lost Creek in Jefferson County, Tennessee, and Nolichucky (or Newhope) in Greene County, Tennessee, were under the care of New Garden until Westfield was sufficiently strong to have its own monthly meeting and assume full responsibility for the meetings beyond its western limits.

New Garden also established two meetings for worship close to the parent meeting. Upper Reedy Fork was about five miles northwest and Lower Reedy Fork four miles north. In 1793 the first was renamed Dover; the second Hopewell. Dover was granted a monthly meeting in 1815 and Hopewell in 1825. Neither exists today.

History, when reduced to names, dates, and movements, has a way of sounding abstract yet the history of these days was anything but abstract to those who were living it. Even in the minutes, there are no large discussions of the issues of the day, only the small personal reflections. New Garden Friends didn't write much on slavery, but they refused to accept a certificate from a Friend "who sold a poor Negro slave and parted him far distant from his espoused wife and near connections, sorely against his will." Even when the war was coming very close, they had nothing to say about it. They merely disowned a member who joined "those who style themselves Regulators of Public Affairs." [16] We know they wore plain clothing because they speak of maintaining plainness in apparel, but who would ever guess—if Mary Mendenhall Hobbs hadn't heard her great-aunt tell it—that the plainness was all in the cut of the garment, not the color. Delphina Mendenhall, who belonged to Deep River, remembered seeing a friend at meeting dressed in plain dress, but the coat was pea-green and the pants were pink.[17]

[16] "Minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting," 1 mo. 31, 1767, and 6 mo. 25, 1768.

[17] Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Nathan Hunt and His Times," in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, i (1907), 97. Whittier once described Delphina Mendenhall by saying, "Delphina Mendenhall! Why she is a whole Quarterly Meeting in herself." Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall," in *Quaker Biographies* (Philadelphia, 1926), series 2, vol. v, 256.

To this color note may be added the remark of Joseph Crosfield, who was much impressed by the "picturesque and primitive appearance" of Friends at New Garden when he visited North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1845. Many of them, he said, were dressed in "bright blue their own manufacture." [18]

We know that they believed in moderation in speech and in a harmonious life together. Then, as now, Friends examined their spiritual state and reported, "Love and unity is in a good degree maintained" yet the second half of the sentence, not quoted so often in these days, received greater emphasis, "If anything appears to the contrary, care is taken for amendment." They report their care in regard to strong language, yet it is a shock to realize that Nathan Hunt would really say in meeting, "I would as soon hear an ass bray as to hear a slave-owner preach the Gospel," when a Quaker had just concluded his message;[19] or to realize that an esteemed Friend might be so incensed over a remark made in business meeting that he would say afterwards, "If he had said such a thing to me, I should have knocked his head a Sabbath's day journey from his body." [20]

We know of the early interest in education in the community, but the character of one of the earliest teachers is not so well known. Anne the Huntress stepped directly from the forest one fine day in 1790 when a shooting match was going on out on the old Salisbury Road. A large group had gathered, and suddenly a young woman appeared among them, carrying a highly ornamented rifle and equipped with shot pouch, belt, hunting knife, and hatchet. She asked if she might join the contest, stepped to the line, and fired. Of course she hit the bull's-eye. She was the teacher; for seventeen or eighteen years she remained in the neighborhood visiting in various homes, teaching the children, and killing a deer now and then to apply on her board bill.[21]

[18] Joseph Crosfield, "North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1845," in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, iii (1910), 117-118.

[19] Quoted from a letter of Hannah Reynolds Osborne in an article by Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, i (1907), p. 109.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[21] Addison Coffin, "Anne the Huntress," *Guilford Collegian*, iii (1890), 84-85.

Addison Coffin tells her story with great zest for he always believed that she prepared the way for the success of the little Brick School House, predecessor to New Garden Boarding School.

No account of New Garden's traditions is complete without the distant echo from the battle of Guilford Court House, which began not far from the meeting house and ended four miles away. When the fighting was over, Friends brought the dead and wounded back to the meeting house. There is no word of their activities in the minutes, but fifteen British soldiers are buried under the great old oak in the graveyard, and early students at the boarding school were sure that the stains on the ceiling of the old meeting house had been made by the blood of wounded soldiers.[22] They had heard how boards already obtained for a new meeting house were used to make beds for the wounded—and the stains were surely there. Joseph Crosfield also mentions them.

Founded and developed in the two decades before the Revolution, New Garden Meeting seemed unshaken by the war. The meeting resumed growth and was strengthened by the coming of Eastern Carolina Friends; it became the meeting place for North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and it developed as an early center of educational endeavor. The amateur poet of the 1830's was not far wrong when he wrote:

> New Garden hail! Thrice favored place,
> By Nature blessed and blest by grace.[23]

JOSHUA L. BAILY, JR., 4435 Ampudia Street, San Diego 3, California, desires information about Henry Delano Fitch, said to have been a Friend. He was a native of New Bedford, and was later employed by the Mexican government to survey the harbor of San Diego in the early eighteen-twenties. Here he married Josefa Carrillo, and made his home for the rest of his life. He was thus the first white man not of Spanish descent to become a permanent resident of San Diego. When Richard Henry Dana visited this city in 1836 he made the acquaintance of Fitch, and speaks of him in *Two Years Before the Mast.*

[22] Elmina Foster Wilson tells the story in detail in her MS. "Reminiscences."

[23] Zimri Stuart, "New Garden," *Guilford Collegian,* viii (1895), 91-93.

SPRING MEETING
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

CONTRARY to the usual practice the Spring Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held in downtown Philadelphia instead of somewhere in the surrounding countryside. But this concession to war-time restrictions on gasoline did not preclude the consideration of things relating to nature. For the place of the meeting on May 19, 1945, was The Academy of Natural Sciences, at 19th Street and the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, and Quakers in natural science was the theme of the speakers of the afternoon. Calling the meeting to order at 2.30 P. M., President William W. Comfort quoted Lord Lister, by way of introduction, on the tendency of Friends to employ in scientific investigation the time which they save by their withdrawal from the world's more distracting activities. He also remarked upon the recent death of one of the most distinguished modern Quaker scientists, Sir Arthur S. Eddington.

Francis W. Pennell spoke on "Botanical Interests of Friends," calling attention to the interesting fact that most Quaker botanists, from John Rutty and John Bartram to those of our day, have been quiet, observational specialists rather than men of speculative and experimental turn of mind. James Logan, the great Pennsylvanian, is almost unique among Quaker experimentalists in botany.

Edward E. Wildman followed with the paper on "Friends Interested in Natural History Other Than Plants" which is printed in this issue of the BULLETIN.

After the meeting members of the Association enjoyed the opportunity to inspect the extensive exhibits of The Academy of Natural Sciences.

AS A foretaste of his forthcoming book on the subject, Arthur E. James published in *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. 47 (1945), pp. 540-1, an illustrated article on "Clockmakers of Chester County, Pennsylvania." Thirty-three persons have been found to qualify in his list for between 1766 and 1840, and naturally many of them prove to be Quakers.

FRIENDS INTERESTED IN NATURAL HISTORY OTHER THAN PLANTS

By Edward E. Wildman

NEXT TO THE STUDY OF PLANTS, nothing out of doors has appealed to so many Friends, apparently, as the study of birds. In this field we may well start with the story of William Bartram, for as far as we know, he was the first in this country to keep a record of the arrival dates of migrants reaching his father's garden and farm on the Schuylkill.

Born in 1739 in the house we visited last year, William was a skilled artist. At the age of ten he was making drawings of all kinds of wild life, and some of these got into the hands of members of the Royal Society of London. They brought high praise, and as the youth grew he was commissioned to send sketches of various animals and plants to discriminating customers. His descriptive notes and records of original observations were made in excellent English. These so impressed Dr. Fothergill that he employed William to make an extended exploration of the natural history of the southeastern colonies, the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. The illustrated report of this journey was published in London in 1791. It placed William Bartram among the first English writers of the century. The diary of this journey, edited by Dr. Francis Harper, was published for the first time in 1943 by the John Bartram Association and the American Philosophical Society.[1]

When past sixty years of age William met Alexander Wilson, a young Scotsman of parts, who taught school on Gray's Ferry Road, near the Bartram home. Wilson had little knowledge of bird life, but was fascinated with William's drawings and records, and determined to begin the study. He learned rapidly under

[1] *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, xxxiii, part 2, "Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74, a Report to Dr. John Fothergill. [By] William Bartram." Annotated by Francis Harper (Philadelphia, 1943).

William's kind training, and set himself the task of writing the first book on birds in America, the *American Ornithology.*[2]

Bartram taught him not only how to observe and sketch, but also how to write in a clear and accurate style. Wilson frequently expressed his appreciation of this help.

A decade before William Bartram's death at the age of eighty-four, a Westtown boy was taking up the torch he had carried so long and so well. This boy was Thomas Say, a scion of a Huguenot family finding in Philadelphia a refuge from religious oppression. Thomas made no friends at Westtown, apparently, either among faculty or pupils, for his interests were wholly in the living world outside the school walls or the games of the boys. Hence his stay at the school was brief. His father was a prosperous druggist, a member of the State Assembly, and of the national Congress. He was also active in local philanthropic societies.

By all the rules, his eldest son should have followed his father in these laudable careers, but Thomas found the company of a half dozen young naturalists who met each week in a small room over Speakman's Drug Store at 2nd and High Streets much more entertaining than his father's drug business, or his political and social endeavors. After meeting for some months, these young men decided to form a permanent organization, and on the evening of March 17, 1812, they adopted a set of rules and gave themselves the name of The Academy of Natural Sciences. Thomas, then twenty-five, was a charter member. He had already won his spurs by reading various papers before the group in which he recorded his observations of birds, insects, mollusks and crustaceans. Indeed, he had already set himself the task of describing American insects, crustacea and mollusks. During the next decade his work was so prolific, and yet so accurately done, that his biographers now call him the father of American zoology.

[2] *American Ornithology; or The Natural History of the Birds of the United States. Illustrated with Plates, Engraved and Coloured from Original Drawings Taken from Nature,* by Alexander Wilson (Philadelphia, 1808-1814).

Say had a genius for taxonomy; that is, the grouping of living things into classes and families as determined by their structure. He was the first to study American animals in that way. After Wilson's death in 1813, Say was asked to prepare another volume of the *American Ornithology.* Later he was asked to join the Long exploring expeditions through the southern states and Mexico as chief zoologist. But alas! He inherited his father's keen interest "in the good of the other fellow," and joined a group of scientific friends in an impractical Utopian scheme of "plain living and high thinking" that was set up in the frontier wilderness of Indiana, just admitted to the Union a few years before, at a village named New Harmony. Most of the members, it seems, were too lazy to work, and the leaders departed, leaving Say and his devoted wife to try to maintain "The Cause." Before leaving Philadelphia he had published two volumes of his *American Entomology,*[3] and while at New Harmony, with his wife's help, he had published six numbers of his *American Conchology.*[4] But death took them both in their forties, apparently for lack of proper food.

Although Say made no great record as a student at Westtown, still that school was to "carry the ball" in American bird study for decades to come, through the work of two of her boys. These were John Kirk Townsend and John Cassin. Townsend was born in Philadelphia in 1809, and Cassin near Media in 1813. A copy of a school book is to be seen here in the library of The Academy of Natural Sciences with this note on the fly leaf: "John Cassin's *Flora Cestrica.* Westtown School, 3rd Mo. 12, 1830. John Cassin examined during the season of 1830 385 plants described here." On the last fly leaf appears "Appendix No. 2 Plants found by John Cassin not described in this book." (Then follows the list.) Born on Providence Road, about a

[3] *American Entomology, or Descriptions of the Insects of North America. Illustrated by Coloured Figures from Drawings Executed from Nature,* by Thomas Say (Philadelphia, 1817).

[4] *American Conchology* (New Harmony, Indiana, 1830-1834). Republished in *The Complete Writings of Thomas Say on the Conchology of the United States,* edited by W. G. Binney (New York, 1858).

third of a mile south of Rose Tree Inn, John Cassin was one of the five persons who founded the Delaware County Institute of Science in 1833. In 1834, the year in which Say died, Cassin moved to Philadelphia to work as a lithographer. In 1845 he joined the Academy, and spent all his spare time studying birds, not in the field as Say and Audubon did, but in its library and museum. Cassin delighted in technical descriptions and synonomy. He was a pioneer in this field. Scientific authorities both here and abroad held his work in the highest esteem. In recognition of Cassin's ability, a wealthy friend of the Academy began buying collections of birds both here and in Europe and presenting them to the Academy for Cassin's study. By 1850, 28,000 new birds had thus been placed in his hands, and a copy of every book on ornithology that it was possible to buy in Europe and America came along with these gifts. As a result of these studies, Dr. Elliot Coues of the Smithsonian Institution stated that John Cassin was the only ornithologist this country has produced who was as familiar with birds of the Old World as with those of America.

The other Westtown boy, John Townsend, learned to make good bird skins while at school, and with his uncle William, who lived in West Chester, he made a collection of nearly all our local birds. In 1834 Townsend set out with Thomas Nuttall to go collecting to Oregon and points west. Their route lay down the Ohio to the Mississippi, to the Missouri, and up through Independence, over the mountains by the old Oregon Trail, and down the Columbia. They reached Vancouver in September, and spent three months collecting in that region. They then went on to the Sandwich Islands, collecting many birds and plants there which no longer are found on the islands. Returning to the mainland in 1835, Nuttall embarked for Philadelphia around Cape Horn, bringing with him the birds Townsend had collected up to that time. Townsend remained another year in the northwest coast, then, starting to sail back to Philadelphia, he again visited Tahiti for more collecting, and also stopped on the coast of Chili for birds of that region. He reached home late in 1837, and began at once on the study of his collection and the preparation

of his journal, covering his long and most interesting trip.[5] This book was published in 1839, and the first edition was exhausted in three weeks. Subsequent editions however met the competition of Audubon's great work, which was just coming off the press. This book of a genius simply swept the market. Unable to publish the results of his remarkable trip, Townsend was forced to sell his specimens to Audubon, and his notes make up most of the text of the later editions of *Birds of America.*

Many new species collected by Townsend were named for him by his colleagues, Cassin, Audubon and John Bachman. In recognition of his high abilities, he was invited to work in the National Institute, the forerunner of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington. After a few years there, he returned to Philadelphia and joined his two brothers who were leading dentists here. His death occurred in 1851. Cassin survived him by eighteen years, till 1869.

Dr. Ezra Michener, Josiah Hoopes, Newbold H. Trotter, and, a little later, Charles J. Pennock and Spencer Trotter were carrying on the Quaker interest in bird study in this vicinity. Meantime another Westtown boy born on a farm in Logan on Old York Road in 1840, was destined to excel them all as a naturalist. But more of him later.

In 1890 seven young men formed the Delaware Valley Ornithological Club. Of these, four were Friends. William L. Baily alone of these four survives today, with his interest in nature unimpaired. An uncle, William L., devised a way to print iridescent colors. A brother, Harry, was a famous bird bander. A great nephew, Lang, continues this work. During the fifty-five years of this club's work, at least a fifth of its membership have been members of Meeting, and Friends have always played an active part in it.

For many years, Dr. Witmer Stone, the founder and active spirit of the club until his death in 1939, made it a practice to ask members and their friends who knew birds well to send in to him records of arrival dates of migrants each spring. These

[5] *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains, to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands, Chili, &c., with a Scientific Appendix,* by John K. Townsend (Philadelphia, 1839).

dates were then averaged, and the resulting schedule published in the club's journal, *Cassinia* (named in honor of John Cassin). Membership in this bird club has always been confined to men; but a typical list of these observers includes some women Friends. For example, in New Jersey, John W. Tatum, Anna A. Mickle, Dr. S. S. Haines, M. Albert Linton, Joseph S. Evans, William Bacon Evans and Louisa M. Jacobs made reports, along with others. Other Friends made reports from their Pennsylvania home neighborhoods: Dr. S. C. Palmer, John D. Carter, W. E. Roberts, William L. Baily, and Edward Woolman. More recently Edward W. Marshall has prepared a useful summary of these migration dates, and if the edition is not exhausted, it is on sale at the front door of the Academy. There, also, is another Nature Calendar of broader scope, in four seasonal booklets.[6] On its back cover our friend Charles F. Jenkins reminds us of William Penn's great interest in nature study.

Joseph M. Cadbury now serves the Delaware Valley Bird Club as secretary, and he is doing an outstanding job as science teacher in two of our Friends schools. His brother, Bartram, is doing the same important work at Friends Select School. These young Friends bear names that are of great interest in our present thought, and I hope they will excuse me for referring especially to them. They are direct descendants of those famous Friends, John and William Bartram. Their maternal grandfather, Joseph Moore, was considered the most able scientist west of the Alleghenies when he began his work as professor of geology and biology at Earlham College in the 1870's. He had been a student of Agassiz and Gray at Harvard. He built a museum of great value at Earlham, now known as the Joseph Moore Museum. His gifts of the spirit, though, were even more widely recognized among western Friends than those of his intellect. For three decades he was held in the highest regard by all who knew him, in and out of the college circles. Many of his students became famous scientists, working in American and foreign institutions. Dr. Allen D. Hole followed him, and his son, Francis, carries on in the same field of geological interest. Perhaps the best

[6] *This Week Out of Doors in the Penn Country and Beyond*, by Edward E. Wildman (Philadelphia, 1944).

known single specimen in the Moore Museum is a complete skeleton of the giant beaver, an animal that has been extinct for millions of years. This is the only such specimen known in the world.

The famous Westtown boy referred to above, Edward Drinker Cope, was a contemporary of Joseph Moore's, and interested in the same field of pre-historic animals. Under the title, *Cope, Master Naturalist* (Princeton, 1931), Henry Fairchild Osborn, America's greatest paleontologist, gives us a vivid and fascinating picture of boy and man. Vitality was truly inherited in that family. Edward's great-grandfather was a member of a Chester County family of six sons and two daughters, all of whom lived to be at least eighty years old. His grandfather, Thomas Pim Cope, was a great philanthropist and proprietor of a line of sailing vessels running between Philadelphia and Liverpool. Thomas's seventh child, Alfred, inherited his father's abilities and his interest in seeing that justice was done to Negro and Indian, a traditional attitude of Friends. He was also a founder of the Philadelphia Zoo and of Free Friends Library in Germantown.

Alfred's children, Edward, Elizabeth and Mary Anna, must have absorbed a love of nature with the air they breathed. For their father taught them to say this bit of nature lore about as soon as they could talk:

> Pigs have bristles,
> Cows have hair,
> Birds have feathers,
> Snakes are bare.

At six, Edward was keeping a diary and illustrating it with his own drawings. His record of a trip to Boston when he was seven must have pleased his father because of its composition and accuracy, as well as its good writing and spelling. Dr. Osborn gives us photostats of several of its pages.

After four years at Westtown, Edward was given a farm near Bradford Hills, with the hope that this outdoor life would improve his health. But, like William Bartram, Edward was no farmer at heart. After a four-year trial, he rented the farm and came to the Academy to study with Dr. Joseph Leidy, a

great scientist and one of America's noblemen. Then came a trip to Europe, a grand tour of the best libraries and museums, and brief acquaintance with the great men of science of the Old World, especially in biology and geology. Then a short professorship at Haverford, marriage, a new home at Haddonfield, and the birth of a daughter, Julia. Then a long and happy period of work for the newly established Smithsonian Institution of Washington. Dr. Leidy had already begun the study of the marl beds, finding there fragments of skeletons of animals that lived in the shallow Cretaceous seas 100,000,000 years ago. Cope extended these studies throughout the Atlantic coastal plain and then up the Mississippi valley. On the Great Plains he and Ferdinand V. Hayden, Leidy, and Othniel Charles Marsh of Yale found not only fragments but whole skeletons of these pre-historic animals lying in place, undisturbed under their covering of a few inches or feet of sand or clay. Notwithstanding the difficulties of travel of those days, and the constant danger from Indians, these explorers studied almost every square mile of territory from Kansas to the Bad Lands of the Dakotas, and under their hands a whole new fauna of American animal life came into being. The last paper that Edward Cope wrote before his death in March, 1897, was an account of his findings in a limestone cave discovered by quarrymen at Fort Kennedy, near Norristown. There he found bony remains of at least fifty-six kinds of vertebrate animals, and all but six of these are entirely extinct on earth. Picture the Parkway with this parade: Five kinds of giant sloths; sixteen kinds of hoofed animals, including elephants, rhinos, tapirs, peccaries, and wild oxen; the giant beaver referred to above, and nine other kinds of rodents; cave bears, saber-toothed tigers and a dozen other kinds of carnivores; and in the neighboring sea which filled the Schuylkill valley, nine kinds of whales and dolphins.

The winter after Edward Cope left Westtown, a little boy of Birmingham Meeting heard a series of talks on the sky in the Friends School near his home. He attended these lectures with his parents and teacher. Henry Whitall of Woodbury gave these talks, called Celestial Geography, and they were illustrated by the planisphere. Nine-year-old Isaac Sharpless was greatly inter-

ested, and especially enjoyed the use of the moving planisphere which his parents had bought. Eighteen years later Isaac was teaching astronomy at Haverford. Remembering President Sharpless as a national figure in education and the history of Pennsylvania, we may be surprised to learn that six of his nineteen books were written on astronomy and mathematics, and there are forty-four magazine articles of his in this field.

The Friend who found the study of mammals, four-footed, haired beasts, most interesting in his time was Samuel N. Rhoads, of Haddonfield, New Jersey. His monograph on the *Mammals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1903) is recognized by all students in this field as authoritative. Like George Morris, John D. Carter and many others of his generation, and younger men like Arthur Emlen, John Emlen, and others, delight in nature study as a wholesome way to spend leisure time had been demonstrated to Samuel N. Rhoads by wise parents long before he went to Westtown and to these younger Friends before they went to Germantown Friends School.

John D. Carter, born on "Amethyst Farm" near the Brandywine, now of Lansdowne, early chose the study and collecting of eggs and nests of our local bird fauna as his special interest. Of the 225 "possibles," he now has collected and mounted in the Westtown Museum no less than 200 nests. This unique collection occupies a special room under the Library, with a few arrangements displayed in the Model Akeley Hall Exhibit under the West Hall. The recent addition of John D. Carter to the Westtown faculty as Lecturer in Natural History will help carry on one of the best traditions of the old school.

In her delightful little book entitled *Sugar Down the Wind*, which is just off the press, Margaret M. Cary tells us how as a child she first became interested in insect study. There isn't a dull page in this little book, which recounts her experiences as collector and as chaperon for youthful collectors on various trips from Maine to Oregon and south to the Gulf. No doubt she has inspired many young people to see great beauty in nature. One of these, her nephew, John W. Cadbury, III., has done fine work in entomology at Cornell and here at the Academy. Just now he is in Friends War Relief work in England. Perhaps we can

see some of these collections this afternoon. Margaret Cary's special study has been the sphinx moths.

As we turn now to the fascinating exhibits here at the Academy, each with its own special beauty, one of great interest will be the mineral exhibit on the balcony of the Parkway front of the building. It is one of the finest in America. It is of interest to us today because Friends have played a large part in assembling and mounting it.

A few months after the Academy was founded in 1812, a cabinet of minerals was acquired which one of the founders, Adam Seybert, had bought in Europe. This Philadelphian had gone abroad to study mineralogy and chemistry, and it is interesting to know that in 1803 Benjamin Silliman, founder of the *American Journal of Science*, journeyed from New Haven to Philadelphia with the whole collection of Yale College, "a half bushel of unlabelled stones in a small box," to have them named by Seybert.

As early as 1792 the Chemical Society of Philadelphia had been organized especially for the study of minerals. The names of Mitchell, Lea, Spackman, Ashmead, and Harvey appear as members and authors of papers presented before this society and its successors. No doubt some of these were Friends. Among the first gifts presented to Haverford College after its founding in 1833 was a large collection of minerals, made by the late Joseph Sansom and presented to the college by his wife, Beulah Sansom. This is thought to be the earliest collection of minerals made in America. Joseph's nephew, William S. Vaux, who was a vice-president of the Academy, gave most of the fine exhibit that we shall see. About 1,000 specimens have been added in recent years, largely through the generosity of another Friend, George Vaux, Jr. George Vaux, Sr., of Bryn Mawr, had the custom for years of taking his family to British Columbia for the summer vacations. Here they studied local geology and measured the flow year by year of the Illicillawaet Glacier. George, Jr., became a skilled mineralogist and served for many years as treasurer of the Academy. The daughter, Mary, excelled in the painting of wild flowers, and her collection has been reproduced by lithographic methods of very high order. Her husband, Dr. Charles

D. Walcott, was for years director of the Smithsonian Institution and an authority on Cambrian fossils. The present George Vaux follows his father's interest in mineralogy, as well as his interest in Pennsylvania and Quaker history. Other Friendly names, Jefferis, Brinton, Wharton, Smedley, Cope, Palmer, Lewis, Wetherill, Carter, and Whitson, bear testimony to interest in local mineral study.

As practical chemists, at least two Friends should be included here. Evan Pugh, of Nottingham, was an agricultural chemist of the first rank. He was the founder and first president of Pennsylvania State College. Clement Brinton, of Haddonfield, has been for years chemist in charge of administration of the Pure Food and Drug Act in this Federal District.

In this summary of Friends interested in science other than plant study, I am sure I have omitted the names of some of your friends and relatives. But time forbids a longer list, or more adequate record of the work of those mentioned. It is hoped however that we have here been reminded of the large place the study of nature has occupied in the cultural life of Friends, and through them to the society around us, resulting not alone in a greater knowledge of and better use of natural resources, but in building those finer appreciations of beauty that refine and deepen the life of the spirit.

THE quiet pun, "Just Among Friends," has become a byword in Quaker circles since William W. Comfort published his illuminating interpretation of the Quaker way of life with that title in 1941. The BULLETIN in particular has had a run of it, with Robert J. Leach's article on Thomas Clarkson's view of Friends in 1806 (spring and autumn numbers, 1944), and Henry J. Cadbury's study of William Penn's reputation among seventeenth century Friends (spring number, 1945). A second edition of Dr. Comfort's volume, *Just Among Friends: The Quaker Way of Life*, has been published by The Blakiston Company (Philadelphia, 1945, pp. 178, $1.00). The book has been reset and the author's preface completely rewritten. This reprint edition will carry the title far and wide, although it will not disclose the amusing prior use of the title in 1934. For in that year, we have just discovered, Charles Scribner's Sons in New York published an earlier *Just Among Friends*, with the sub-title, "Pages from My Sketch Books." The author was an English animal painter, and the sketches were pencil drawings of his canine acquaintances!

THE FLUSHING TERCENTENARY

By Ann Gidley Lowry

FROM OCTOBER 5-14, 1945, the citizens of Flushing, Long Island, celebrated the Tercentenary anniversary of the granting of their charter, which promised "the right to have and enjoy liberty of conscience." The Flushing Historical Society and the Flushing Chamber of Commerce organized a celebration to make possible the purchase of the home of the pioneer Friend, John Bowne (1627/28-1695), built in 1661, as "a national shrine to religious freedom and tolerance." Justice Charles S. Colden of the Supreme Court was Chairman of a large general committee. The theme of tolerance formed the basis of sermons, concerts, school programs, a historical pageant written by Miss Margaret Carman, and impressive dedication exercises at the Bowne House on October 10. During the cere mony Catholic, Jewish and Protestant religious leaders united to praise the faith and works of John Bowne, and of the twenty-six brave freemen of Flushing who signed the famous Remonstrance of 1657 protesting Peter Stuyvesant's edict against the Quakers. Mayor La Guardia had broadcast his regular Sunday speech from the dining-room of the Bowne House where the early Friends held their meetings for thirty years. At the dedication, James A. Burke, President of the Borough of Queens, delivered an address of welcome; the Charter and Remonstrance were read; Albert B. Corey, State Historian, spoke briefly, and Howard H. Brinton, of Pendle Hill, spoke for the Society of Friends. Governor Dewey sent a letter of interest and approval, and Senator James M. Mead made the speech of dedication. Dr. Jacobus G. de Bews, Councilor of the Netherlands, accepted a scroll for the citizens of Flushing in the Netherlands from those of Flushing, Long Island.

DOROTHY L. RICKER contributed to *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 41 (1945), pp. 214-217, a note dealing with publication plans for future volumes of Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, explaining the relation of Indiana families to Ohio and Western Pennsylvania Monthly Meetings, and other matters useful to genealogists who wish to use Quaker records.

A QUAKER LOBBYIST REPORTS ON WASHINGTON IN 1812

By William W. Comfort and Thomas E. Drake

THROUGH THE COURTESY of J. Morris Wistar, of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, we are able to print the five following letters from a Quaker merchant, lobbying for the moment in Washington, to his young wife in Philadelphia. The author of the letters is Caleb Cresson, Jr. (1775-1821), son of Caleb Cresson (1742-1816), by the latter's second wife, Annabella Bonnyman Elliott. The letters were written to his wife, Sarah Emlen, daughter of Caleb and Mary Warder Emlen; she was his second cousin, whom he married in 1807. The "little dears" were their two infant sons, Emlen Cresson, born 1811, and Charles Caleb Cresson, born 1812. Older Friends in Germantown may remember the latter, "Uncle Charlie," who sat for years in his later life on the facing bench at Coulter Street Meeting. "Uncle George" was George Emlen (1741-1812), brother of Caleb Emlen and hence the uncle of the recipient of these letters. He was a rich Quaker merchant with a house in town and another in the Whitemarsh Valley. Some of the other people mentioned—relatives, lobbyists, Philadelphia acquaintances, and Washington belles—we have been unable to identify.

Caleb Cresson, Jr., the writer of these letters, was also a well-to-do Philadelphia Quaker merchant, with an office at 202 Mulberry (now Arch) Street, according to the *Philadelphia Directory* of 1809. As appears from a fine portrait of him in the possession of J. Morris Wistar, he was a handsome young man, not of the plainest type. A merchant with interests at stake, he was one of a group of lobbyists from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, who went to "labor" with Congress in late November, 1812. He had good reason to go to Washington, for he, like many other American merchants whose agents had shipped large quantities of British goods from England after the revocation of the Orders in Council on June 23, 1812, was in danger of losing all or part of them by confiscation.

The United States had already declared war on Great Britain, five days before the revocation, and the shipments had been taken at sea by privateers, or impounded when they reached this country. But since some owners were allowed by the courts to take out and sell their goods at high prices, giving bond for their value, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin permitted them all to do so, collecting five million dollars in duties, and receiving eighteen million in bonds. With the profits from sales, perhaps forty million dollars worth of property was involved.

This was during the summer and fall of 1812. As winter drew on, with an empty Treasury and no hope of getting any money from a Congress which had refused to vote taxes for the war, Gallatin conceived a happy scheme. Instead of refunding the duties and confiscating the goods, that is, requiring full payment of the bonds, as he might do under the law, he would keep the five million and compromise with the merchants for half the value of their bonds, allowing them a fair return but siphoning off about nine million dollars of their war profits into the Treasury. It was a seductive scheme, too clever perhaps, and it aroused great protest from men of every party and faction. The Federalists, of whom our Philadelphia Quaker merchant was one, naturally opposed it. But so did a number of Republicans (we would now call them Democrats). John Randolph of Roanoke denounced the principle of the thing. Langdon Cheves and young Calhoun, War-Hawks both, fought it because they disliked the whole non-importation system as calculated to raise the prices which their Carolina planter constituency had to pay for manufactures. But the opportunity to fill an empty Treasury with nine million dollars was a great temptation to many Congressmen. It was nip and tuck as to whether Gallatin would win.

In the end—but let Caleb Cresson, Jr., tell the story. He went to Washington determined to do all he could to thwart the machinations of the detested "Monsieur Guillotine," as Gallatin was labelled by the Federalists. With his fellow lobbyists he labored in the cause, and with them took in the sights between sessions. His letters to his wife carry the undercurrent of his hopes and fears, but give on the surface a placid account of life in war-time Washington in 1812.

Washington 11mo. 21. 1812

My dear Sally

I wrote thee by last mail, among other things mentioning our intention of going to pay a visit to Mount Vernon—Accordingly this morning 8 of us, mostly New Yorkers, set off about 8 oClock, stop'd at Alexandria to Breakfast, about 6 miles on our Way. I was surprized to find this place so respectable, both as to size & appearance—it is a handsome Town containing about 7 thousand Inhabitants, situated on the Potomack, the Streets are laid out in the Philada. Style, are paved in the same way, & the Buildings have an air of comfort as tho' their owners enjoy'd the good things of life—which is not always the Case in Virginia,—We reach'd Mount Vernon about Noon & having a Letter of introduction to Judge Washington,[1] who now inhabits it, we were politely received—after talking with him a short time we proposed going to view the place—he requested a young man who was present to go with us—The House is a venerable structure of about 80 feet front, & two stories high, having a piazza in front as high as the Eaves, supported by 8 columns—from which the view is very fine, of the Potomack, (which appears to be about 2 miles broad) & the Country on the other side—we soon bent our course to the Tomb of the "Father of his country," we found it just as represented in a plate in one of the Port folios—The Gate was unlock'd by the Gardner, an old German looking Man that was employ'd in that capacity by Gen. Washington—he pointed out the Coffin of the General, of his Wife (which lay side by side) & of a number of others of the Family, which he named—I must confess the scene was awful & impressive when I enter'd the Tomb which containd the remains of Washington, & the remark of a Soldier who went to see the Tomb of his General, came fresh in my remembrance "if this is the Tomb of *Washington* where would they bury me?"—It is a small cave (if I may use the expression) on the top of the bank of the River, built of Stone, & covered over with Earth & Grass, so as to have the appearance of a hillock, with a small door on the side towards the River—over & around it is shaded by some small cedar & oak trees—tho his Tomb is simple & unostentatious like the life of its possessor, yet his Memory will long be cherished as the benefactor of his Country—

The Gardner also shewd us the Green House—in which are a number of fine plants—among the rest some pine apples, orange

[1] Bushrod Washington (1762-1829), Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1798-1829, and nephew of George Washington. He inherited Mount Vernon and lived there after the death of Martha Washington in 1802.

& lemmon Trees very fine, the Coffee plant and Tea plant—In the House is still preserved, in a Glass case, the Key of the Bastile, sent over by the French, (after that Edifice was demolished), to Gen. Washington as the most proper person to keep it—a handsome compliment—beneath the case containing the Key is a picture of the mob demolishing the Bastile, sent over at the same time—one part of the picture is a true representation of French sang froid, a Lady & Gentleman walking along quite unconcerned—

Every one seem'd desirous of having a Twig or a flower to remember Mount Vernon by—for myself I cut a branch of a young oak, which I think when well mounted will make a handsome cane—

We returnd to Alexandria to dine on Canvas backs & oysters, & got back to town by dusk—on the road about a mile from this place is a remarkable bridge over the Potomack upwards of a mile long—

The day turn'd out I think as fine a one as I ever saw, the roads being good, the company agreeable (among the rest Washington Irwin [sic!], the author of Knickabocker, & one of the authors of Salmagundy)[2] made the day spend pleasantly & the Excurtion satisfactory.

Please give my Love to Father & others of our Relations & with my best wishes for the Health & Happiness of thyself & the little dears believe me to be

Ever & affectionately Thine

C.C.Jr.

11 mo 23. Having missed the mail that closed last Evening—it gives me an Oppo to acknowledge the rect. of thine of the 19th. just come to hand—with the pleasing intelligence of the health of all our near relations—except Uncle George, as he has had several severe attacks it is to be hoped he will get over this also.

Washington 11 mo., 26, 1812.

My dear Sally

I had the pleasure to receive thy last Letter (dated 22 Inst) & find that all are enjoying health, & getting along comfortably—I wish it was proper for me to come home & enjoy it with you, but it is yet uncertain how soon it will be, we have however got

[2] Washington Irving, who had begun his career as a lawyer but found writing much more to his taste, was at this time engaged in various activities, including "agencies" in Washington. In other words, he was a fellow lobbyist with Cresson, but represented New York merchants. *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 2nd sess., appendix, p. 1259.

one step further along—yesterday the Chairman [3] of the Committee of Ways & Means made their report to the House of Representatives on our business—& tho' they propose to refer it all to Gallatin yet we hope it will be otherwise, as the Chairman is in our favor, & will oppose the Report, as we are told—

Last Evening I went to the Palace to be introduced to their Majesties—Jas. Milnor [4] our Representative in Congress accompanying us—we found a great number of Carriages in the Court—On entering were introduced into a large Hall—where we pull'd off our Great Coats & Hats—thence into an anti Chamber & thence into the Saloon where the company were assembled—J.M. first introducd us to Queen Dolly & then to the (little Great Man the) President—The Saloon is a handsome oval Room of about 50 feet by 30, (according to my supposition) and about 20 high—handsomely furnished, with rich purple Velvet hangings curtains & Chair Cushions &c.—In the Hall was placd the Band from the Navy Yard who occasionally struck up a tune to entertain the Company—this kind of Stunning Music no doubt pleases some Ears, but I would have much prefer'd the Forte Piano, or some other Instruments, capable of giving good Music without so much noise—But methinks Lydia says, poh I want to know what "sort of a tribe" was there, & probably Debby "how they were dress'd"—& indeed it will be difficult for me to give much account of it—but suppose I begin with the President—Figure to thyself a small man, about the size of Jos. Pleasants [5] dress'd in black—his Face worn in wrinkles, (with the cares of State no doubt) his Head nearly bald on the Top, powdered, walking about with his Hands in his Breeches pockets, or perhaps occasionally taking a dish of Tea or a Cake—or bowing to the various persons who approach him, talking to

[3] Langdon Cheves (1776-1857), of South Carolina, Republican Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, elected to Congress in 1810, exerted great influence in behalf of the Federalist merchants' cause, but for reasons quite different from theirs.

[4] James Milnor (1773-1844), a Philadelphia lawyer, served in Congress as a Federalist for one term, 1811-1813. He later was ordained as a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was assistant rector of St. Peter's in Philadelphia, and rector of St. George's in New York from 1816 until his death.

[5] Who was the Joseph Pleasants who matched President Madison in size? Was it the ironmonger of that name, listed in the *Philadelphia Directory* for 1809 at 33 High (now Market) and 11 North Ninth Streets? And was he the Friend, Joseph Pleasants (1774-1824), who appears in W. W. Hinshaw, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, ii, 402?

such as happen to be near him, & then if thou can recollect the Countenance given him by the likenesses of him, thou can form a pretty good Idea of him—next comes his lady, a fine stately looking personage, dress'd in black Velvet, elegantly trimd, with a train of about ¾ of a yard—a handsome bonnet or Cap with a large white Feather, sitting sometimes in one place & sometimes in another or moving about with a great deal of ease—about as miserable & thin as Sister Nancy, & probably as pale as her, if not painted—by the by I wonder how she does look so healthy considering what abundance of visits she has to receive & pay, as "every body" thinks they must go to see Lady Madison, & what between receiving private visits, & going to not only to see her acquaintances, but to the different drawing Rooms, of which I understand there are, or will be, four this Winter besides her own, one by Mrs. Dashkoff the Wife of the Russian Minister,[6] one by Mrs. Serurier wife of the French Minister[7] one by Madam Buonaparte[8] & another I do not recollect who by—I say considering these & the necessary attention to herself & some to the Family, she can have little time to call her own—

The Belle of the place it seems is a "Miss Mayo"—she appear'd to me a lively romping Damsel talking with every body round her—In my view she appeard a good looking Girl, but would not be call'd handsome if her Father was not rich—There were two Daughters of Dr. Worthington of Georgetown, who took my fancy much more, on remarking it to J. Milnor, yes said he, so I think, & they are what they appear, very amiable, & will not stop to do like *some* of our Philadelphians, put on a Cloak and Bonnet & go into a Neighbours House to relieve the poor—As to the rest of the Company I cannot say it was very superb, take out about ten, who might be call'd good looking Girls, & the rest were below mediocrity, in short I have seen much handsomer collections in Philadelphia & elsewhere—but this "Miss Buonaparte" is the most talkd of for her Beauty, on enquiring where she was one told me that she had a sore on her Lip & of consequence would not come—others that she is about

[6] André Daschkoff, the Russian chargé at Washington.

[7] Jean Matthieu Philibert Serurier, who was appointed French Minister at Washington in February, 1811.

[8] Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte (1785-1879), of Baltimore, Maryland, who in 1803 became the wife of Jerome Bonaparte. Napoleon refused to recognize the marriage of his young brother, and in 1805 Jerome returned to France. In spite of her disappointment of 1812, of which Caleb Cresson, Jr., later speaks, "Madame Bonaparte" was finally granted a divorce by the Maryland Legislature in 1815.

applying for a Divorce to the Legislature of Maryland—On the mens side we had the Heads of Departments, the French Minister, Members of Congress & Strangers from almost every part of the Union, & from Europe—altogether about 200. After amusing ourselves till about 9 o'Clock we came home—

Just as I had got so far thy fourth Letter was handed to me giving the pleasing confirmation of your continued Health—& account of the decease of Uncle George, whose anxious Life is at last finished—

I recd. a Letter from Elliott [9] by last post who also mentions among other things the health of the different branches of the Family—Please show this to any of our friends—as I cannot write to many—With Love to Father & others as if named & Kisses apiece for the Bairns, I remain

Ever & affectionately Thine

C.C.Jr.

Washington 11 mo., 28, 1812

My dear Sally

I wrote thee a Long Letter two days ago since which little has been doing here either amusing or satisfactory, the Business before Congress being made the Order of the day for 2nd. Day, of consequence nothing is going on there interesting, or more properly speaking *particularly* interesting *to us*—It is true we have a pleasant company enough at our House—Our Landlady is the Widow of an Officer in the Navy, who died some time ago & left her & three children very destitute, it seems some of her Husband's Friends interested themselves for her, particularly Franklin Wharton (brother of Robert,[10] of our City) who is Col. & commands at the Marine Barracks in this place—he took considerable pains to get a Mess (as the term is where a number of persons eat together at the same table) made up for her, our family here therefore consists of Wm. Hunter [11] a Senator from Rhode Island—& three Members of the House of Representatives

[9] Elliott Cresson (1796-1854) was the nephew and protégé of Caleb Cresson, Jr., being the son of John Elliott and Mary Warder Cresson. He became interested in the abolition of slavery and was especially active in the American Colonization Society.

[10] Robert Wharton (1757-1834) was fifteen times elected mayor of Philadelphia.

[11] The Widow's "mess" apparently ran to Federalism, for Senator William Hunter (1774-1849) was a Federalist, as were Representatives Harmanus Bleecker and Henry Moore (not Nichs.) Ridgeley. North Carolina's Archibald McBryde was, however, a Republican.

viz Herman Bleeker from N. York, Nichs. Ridgley from Delaware, Jno. Baker from Virginia & Archd. McBride from North Carolina—also Jno. Forrester a Mercht. from Salem Massachusetts here on business before Congress—Nathaniel Appleton [12] of Boston, Saml Harvey [13] & myself on the Com^ee^ of Importing Merchants—*they* happen to be all very clever civil men and we spend our time very comfortably, at least as much so as could be expected in a State of banishment—We take our walks about on our business thro' the Town, or attend the Sittings of Congress &c.—the other day we had a visit from the celebrated Jno. Randolph [14]—a Man of a very strong classical mind, but his conduct as a Partisan is eccentric, & his behavior different from usual, he was telling us anecdotes about his double nosed pointer dog, about his Neighbours & about Politics nearly all the time he was here—he has a very sickly appearance, is a tall thin man apparently about 40 ys old—& altho' his behaviour gave him the appearance of a "spoild child," yet the visit was on the whole pleasing—We have had here also to see the Members Capt. Hull [15] so much celebrated for taking the English Frigate, Capt. Morris then one of his officers now promoted—Jon. Russel [16] late charge des affaires in England & a number of Members of Congress—there are & have been also in town several Merchants from New York & Balto. on the same business as ourselves so that having pleasant Company, & the Weather being generally

[12] Nathan Appleton (1779-1861) was a prominent Boston merchant in 1812, and later an associate of Lowell in developing manufacturing in New England.

[13] Samuel Harvey was one of the three merchants lobbying from Philadelphia. With him and Caleb Cresson, Jr., was William Schlatter, listed in the *Philadelphia Directory* of 1809 as "merchant 129 High." The names of all the merchants, with their testimony before the Ways and Means Committee, are given in *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 2nd sess., appendix, pp. 1259 ff.

[14] The famous John Randolph of Roanoke (1773-1833), ardent Republican, but an enemy of Jefferson and his dynasty since the purchase of Louisiana.

[15] Captain Isaac Hull (1773-1843), commander of the frigate *Constitution*. Captain Charles Morris (1784-1856) was his first lieutenant in the battle with the *Guerrière*.

[16] Jonathan Russell (1771-1832) had been the American Chargé d'Affaires at London before war broke out. It was he with whom the American merchants' representatives had advised before they undertook the risk of rushing goods to America after the Orders in Council were revoked.

fine for the time of year, we should be pretty comfortable if it was not for "the Bonds"

From thy Letters I am in hopes thou & the little dears are enjoying usual health & comfort as well as most of our Relations —depend on it I shall lose no time in coming to rejoin you when at liberty, till when with "Love to all" I remain

With true Affection Thine

C.C. Jr.

Washington 12 mo. 4, 1812.

My dear Sally—

It is two days since I wrote to thee, & I now set down more with a view of talking (if the expression will do) to thee, than that I have any thing worth writing about—but wishing to hear from thee frequently makes me more willing to take up the pen even if there is little to say except that "I enjoy good health"—it is 3 Weeks this day since I got here, & it is yet very uncertain how long my business may yet detain me, as from the importance of the question it is likely there will be a long & animated debate—

I told thee in my last the business was before the House, yesterday they continued on it—and today Cheves (the Chairman of the Committee who had the business before them) made one of the finest speaches that perhaps ever was delivered in a Legislative Body—the Language was fine, his manner impressive & his argument excellent (at least *we* think so as he was decidedly in our favr, & being a democrat of great influence we hope it will have a good effect)—In the course of it he was describing the impolicy of the measures pursued he told them that man was "prone to do actions that would make even Angels weep"—he compared the Farmers to the bed of celebrated African River Nile, & the Merchants to the *annual overflowing* of it, by which the country was enriched, & without it the River would be of little use to the Inhabitants—the beautiful metaphor was not much relished by his political party [17]—

I wish thou had been present as it would have been gratifying to thee to hear such a Speech—the number of Spectators was large—& being in perhaps the handsomest room of the kind in the world, & all his audience wrapt in silent attention, it made the Scene more interesting—I expect the debate will continue a week more—

[17] Langdon Cheves and John Roberts, mentioned below, were the chief antagonists in the debate. The whole debate is recorded in *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 198 ff.

Geo Vaux [18] was present, he has not had much satisfaction in his Visit as it has rained most of the time he has been here—he means to set off tomorrow, & stop a day or two at Baltimore on his Way home—having been several times at our Lodgings he can tell thee all about our situation—With my best Love to all & my most anxious wishes for the health & happiness of thyself & the little dears

I am most affectionately Thine

C.C.Jr.

Please tell J. Cook [19] that Roberts [20] spoke about 2 hours & an half this morning using his best efforts to convince the House we ought at least to be forced to pay at least one half the forfeiture—of consequence nobody else had time to speak before the committee rose.

12 mo. 5

Washington 12 mo 10. 1812.

My dear Sally

I have not recd. any Letter from thee for 2 or 3 days past, but take it for granted you are all well, or else, according to thy last, thou would inform me, nevertheless it is very pleasant to have positive information instead of negative—I expect such is however on the way—

Last Evening had concluded to pay another visit to the Drawing Room, altho' it turn'd out a very fine Moonlight Evening, yet it was very cold & therefore not so pleasant for silk Stocking Folks, however as there were seven from our House going I went, & found about 200 collected, having been before introduced had to make my way through them to pay my respects to Queen Dolly—his Majesty being engaged talking to some person in the anti Chamber had not an oppo. of making my conge to him till a short time before we came away—*he* appears to be in "statu quo"—her Ladyship was dress'd very handsome & paid her usual attention to the Company in the two Rooms—The next that took my particular attention was the

[18] Perhaps the George Vaux (1781-1836) who was a Quaker lawyer and at one time a member of the Philadelphia City Council.

[19] Possibly John Cook, Philadelphia Quaker merchant, whose death in 1828 was recorded in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), i (1828), 263.

[20] Jonathan Roberts (1771-1854), born near Norristown, Pennsylvania, was a Republican Representative, 1811 to 1814, and Senator, 1814 to 1821. He attacked the Federalist merchants' cause unmercifully in the speech to which Cresson alludes.

celebrated "Madam Buonaparte"—She is a beautiful little person, with as fine a Skin as ever I saw, or at least it appear'd so to me contrasted with her cole black Hair—her countenance rather pensive, & an Eye rather of the melancholy cast—tho' it is very probable that may be occasioned by her present situation having been refused her divorce by the Maryland Legislature, on account of the impropriety of interfering in matters of "foreign relation"—her dress was of white Silk—on the whole she may be call'd an interesting pleasing little body—The most prominent Character was "Miss Mayo" of whom I spoke in my letter giving an account of my first visit—having seen her several times since, she appears to have considerably that playfulness of manners of our Cousin Eliza Morris, tho' with little of that amiable effort to please her company, & with too much boisterous talk & laughing—finding the Company nearly all gone from the Saloon, half an hour after I got there, on looking round found they were gone to hear her play on the forte piano in the other Room—there were two new and interesting Faces shewn by two Daughters of Chas. Gouldsborough [21] one of the Members—except these none of the Female part of the Company appeard any way remarkable—There were a large number of Heads of Departments & Members of Congress amusing themselves, among whom Monseur Guillotine's Phiz was conspicuous—In short after about 2 Hours stay we were willing to come Home & conclude we had done visiting at the palace for the present—

On third Day Evening there was a general Illumination on account of Decatur's Victory over the Macedonia—It happened remarkably that there was a Ball given that Evening to the Navy Officers—& in the midst of their enjoyment young Hamilton [22] arrived in Town with her colours, went there & made a great Bustle—the Colours were carried round in triumph, & laid at the Feet of Queen Dolly—I was in hopes of being

[21] Charles Goldsborough (1765-1834) was a Federalist Representative from Maryland for five terms, 1805-1817, and Governor of the State, 1819-1820.

[22] Lieutenant Hamilton, son of Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, was made prize master of the *Macedonian* by Stephen Decatur. He brought her into Newport, and was sent to Washington with the ship's flag. Arriving just in time for the naval ball at Tomlinson's Hotel in honor of the capture of the *Guerrière* and the *Alert*, he hastened to the ballroom and added the *Macedonian's* flag to those already hung for the pleasure of the President and his guests. The story that Hamilton laid the colors at Dolly Madison's feet is alleged to be false by John Bach McMaster, *History of the United States* (New York, 1895), iv, 83, note.

ready to return before this time, but it is yet very uncertain, as it appears mortifyingly evident that "Large Bodies move slow"—With plenty of kisses for our Little dears & love for our relatives I remain most affectionately

Thine

C.C.Jr.

J. B. (?) Eves[23] & Wife arrived in Town yesterday—

Happily for our Philadelphia Quaker lobbyist, his exile in Washington ended here, for the day after this last letter was written, victory came to the merchants. The House, acting in Committee of the Whole, rejected Gallatin's suggestion to require half payment on the bonds by a vote of fifty-two to forty-nine, and on December 15th, by the same narrow margin of three votes, concurred with the Senate in remitting all forfeitures on goods owned by Americans which were shipped from England before the declaration of war became known there. For a lively account of the whole affair, see Henry Adams, *History of the United States During the Administration of James Madison* (New York, 1930), book vi, chapter 20.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Alice F. Brinton, 213 Euclid Avenue, Haddonfield, New Jersey. *A Study of Quaker Costume and the Philosophy of the Quakers Concerning Dress.* (A comparison of the Quaker costume with the fashionable dress of different centuries—emphasizing the philosophy of the

[23] Possibly Joseph B. Eves, listed as a merchant of 9 North Front Street in the *Philadelphia Directory* for 1809.

Quakers for maintaining simplicity. Illustrated with drawings and photographs.) Drexel Institute of Technology; Home Economics, M.S. 1942. Manuscript completed.

Mary C. Campbell, R. F. D. 3, Norristown, Pennsylvania. *Dangers and Hardships of Travel as Indicated in Eighteenth Century Quaker Journals.* (The author is a student at Columbia University.) Research commenced.

James Dudley, The Woodlands, Cartmel, Grange Over Sands, England. *The Life of Edward Grubb. A Spiritual Pilgrimage.* (The spiritual development of Edward Grubb and his influence on the Society of Friends during the years 1895-1935, with an account of his contribution to American Quakerism.) Manuscript completed.

Winnifred C. Emerson, 906 Old Lancaster Road, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. *History of Friends' Central School.* (A history of the Friends' Central School with some reference to the Central School system from 1845 to the present.) Research and writing commenced.

Helmut von Erffa, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. (1) *Benjamin West, His Drawings.* (A catalogue of drawings in the collection of Swarthmore College.) (2) *West's Treatment of Subjects from Spenser's Faerie Queene.* (This study is now an article and may turn into a book.) To be published in the *College Art Bulletin* early in 1946.

Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, Guilford College, North Carolina. *Quakers on the Western Waters.* (An account of the migration of North Carolina Quakers into the Holston River Valley in Tennessee about 1786.) To be published in the *East Tennessee Historical Publications*, 1946.

Isabel Grubb, Seskin, Carrick on Suir, County Tipperary, Ireland. *Leaves from the Diary of Mary Leadbeater.* (Extracts from the diary of one who was herself an author of repute in her time, and who was the daughter of Richard Shackleton, the eighteenth century Quaker schoolmaster. The diary gives a vivid picture of Irish country life between 1770 and 1826, with references to well-known literary persons.) Ready for publication.

L. Violet Holdsworth, Bareppa House, near Falmouth, England. *Gulielma.* (A story of the life of the Penns and Peningtons, as nearly as possible in their own words.) To be published in 1946. Manuscript partially completed.

Thomas Kimber, 849 N. Mariposa Avenue, Los Angeles, California. *The Treatment of the Quaker as a Character in American Fiction.* (Present study is from 1825-1900.) University of Southern California; English, thesis for Ph.D. Research in progress.

Atalanta Brown Lipscomb, 20 Elmwood Avenue, Montclair, New Jersey. *The Status of the Negro in New Jersey during the Period, 1763-1804.* (This study contains a section on the freeing of the slaves by the Quakers and a chapter dealing almost entirely with the efforts made by the Quakers to bring about the freedom of the slaves throughout the colonies.) Columbia University; Political Science, thesis for M.A., 1942. Manuscript completed.

Joseph W. Martin, 2108 38th Street, S. E., Washington 20, D. C. *The English Revolution and the Rise of Quakerism, 1640-60.* (A monograph on some of the relationships between the Friends and the other radical movements of the English Revolution.) Columbia University; English, thesis for Ph.D. Basic research largely completed.

Emily E. Moore, 22 Broadwater Avenue, Letchworth, Herts., England. *Biography of Thomas Story.* Research is well under way and publication is planned for the spring of 1947.

Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. *A Diary of Margaret Newbold Thorpe, a "Yankee" Schoolteacher in Virginia and North Carolina, 1866-1871.* (The diary is being edited. Margaret N. Thorpe was sent by Friends in Philadelphia to teach Freedmen in Virginia. She later taught in North Carolina under the public school system.) Manuscript partially completed.

Jane J. Robinson, 524 Pioneer Drive, Glendale 3, California. *John Lilburne, Freeborn Englishman.* (A biography.) University of California at Los Angeles; History, thesis for Ph.D. Research and writing commenced.

Clara G. Roe, 322 E. Fifth Street, Flint 3, Michigan. *Major General Nathaniel Greene and the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution, 1780-1783.* University of Michigan; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1943. Manuscript completed.

William C. Stewart, The Croft, Bayhall Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England. *A History of Sussex, Surrey and Hants Quarterly Meeting.* (Research and writing partially completed.)

Charles Doren Tharp, University of Miami, Coral Gables 34, Florida. *The Frontier in the Poetry of John Greenleaf Whittier.* (Abstract printed in University of Pittsburgh *Bulletin*, vol. 37, no. 3, 1941.) University of Pittsburgh; English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1940. Manuscript completed.

Lester Grosvenor Wells, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York. *Life and Letters of Myrtilla Miner.* (This study will be based on her correspondence and papers in possession of the writer.) Manuscript about one-third completed.

BOOK REVIEWS

Joseph Lister, Father of Modern Surgery, by Rhoda Truax. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944. 287 pp. $3.50.

A THOROUGHLY satisfactory biography of Joseph Lister (1827-1912), the Quaker surgeon, has never been written. That by his nephew, Rickman John Godlee, is authoritative, but it was written expressly for the medical profession who are all presumably familiar with the medical environment in which Lister developed. In any case, the earlier writer made no attempt to describe the background which the non-medical reader needs to appreciate properly the career of the founder of the modern science of antiseptic surgery.

It is hard to realize that less than a century ago absolutely nothing was known as to the cause of infections and the prevention of gangrene. At about the time when Joseph Lister was four years old there appeared a work of fiction that was destined to exert a great influence on his career. In the book *Rab and His Friends* there was a description of an operation for cancer of the breast. That the operation was performed without anaesthesia need surprise no one, since its use had not yet become customary, but the fact that Rab, the patient's dog, was allowed to remain in the room during the operation is somewhat startling. The result of the operation was about what might have been expected. For some days the patient continued to improve, and then the inevitable gangrene set in, leading to a swift and painful death.

Why did Alice Howgate have to die? This was the question upon which young Joseph Lister meditated during his school days at Hitchin and Tottenham, and later at University College in London. Eventually he found the answer, but it came not from the field of medicine but from chemistry. An obscure French chemist named Louis Pasteur had been investigating the failure of the grape crop and had performed some experiments that had led to two conclusions: first, that all decomposition and decay was due to the activity of single-celled bacteria, and second, that the generation of living matter never occurred spontaneously. Could it be possible that gangrene was caused by bacteria introduced into a wound at the time of operation? If so, it might be prevented by the use of antiseptic dressing. Phenol was being used at the sewage disposal plant at Carlisle to suppress the odor; what would happen if phenol were applied to a compound fracture? To Carlisle Lister went, to study the action of phenol, and there became convinced that he was on the right track. When the way opened for him to treat a compound fracture with phenol the result was successful beyond his fondest hopes.

But the attitude of the medical profession was one of open hostility. Naturally they did not wish any reflection on their cleanliness to go unanswered, and if any of Lister's patients had died either from gangrene or any other cause, he would have been charged with malpractice. But

when it was necessary for Queen Victoria herself to undergo an operation, and when she selected Lister to perform it, which he did with complete success, the recognition of his theory by the medical world was assured.

The function of a biography is to interpret the life and works of the hero, and in the book here being reviewed the author has stressed both phases equally. In it the reader can learn much of Lister's home life (he was one of seven children), of the friendship of the Lister and Gurney families, of Agnes Syme whom Joseph Lister married and with whom he traveled extensively on the continent to meet the leading physicians of Europe. The Syme family were not Friends, and Joseph expected to be disowned for marrying out of Meeting. On this point the author does not enlighten us, although in other biographies of Lister it is stated that he resigned from Friends and became a member of the Episcopal Church. Except for such slight defects this is a scholarly essay, and it is well worthy of a place in any collection of biographies, whether of medical men or of Friends.

Joshua L. Baily, Jr.

San Diego, California

William Penn. Fruits of an Active Life. Remarks upon Religion, Morals, Government, Toleration. Selected with an Introduction by William Wistar Comfort. William Penn, Practical Mystic, by Isaac Sharpless: with Further Selections from the Works of Penn. Philadelphia, Friends Book Store and Friends Central Bureau, 1945. 102 pp. $1.

THIS very satisfactory and attractive little volume is, of course, a counterpart of William Penn's *Fruits of Solitude*, put together as maxims in his own lifetime. The *Solitude* has long been a classic among people of many types and diverse callings, entirely apart from the Society of Friends.

Now we have *Fruits of an Active Life*, very much in the same form of maxims and proverbs as the former work, but in this case collated and arranged by William Wistar Comfort, President *Emeritus* of Haverford College. It is evidently another one of the mature results of Dr. Comfort's former masterly life of William Penn, published in the Tercentenary year.

These new maxims cover the four headings of Religion, Morals, Government, and Toleration. In each instance, a little independent paragraph is identified by initials with its source from Penn's voluminous published works. As Dr. Comfort says in his introduction, they follow a literary form, more popular in Penn's time than it is today, of philosophical or religious meditations in brief. They are tender, inspiring or hortatory, as the case may require. At any time and for any mood they constitute a valuable little book for the casual reader or philosopher.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by Dr. Comfort's modest introduction of five pages, and by the essay on "William Penn, Practical

Mystic," by former President Sharpless. This essay in itself is of great charm and value and is new to most American readers. We are told that it was used in a book published in 1909 in London by Headley Brothers, in "The Religion of Life Series," *Selections from the Works of William Penn*, very few copies of which apparently came to America. The maxims avoid most successfully the tedium of much of what Penn wrote. They also constitute a most satisfying résumé of some of the choicest thoughts that Penn gave the world, thoughts which still remain abreast of the times. We are indebted once again to Dr. Comfort for this new evidence of his ripe scholarship.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR

Cheltenham, Pennsylvania

Philadelphia: Holy Experiment, by Struthers Burt. Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1945. 396 pp. $3.75.

PROBABLY no one except the antiquarian now reads garrulous old Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* or Scharf and Westcott's monumental (I had almost said mausolean) *History of Philadelphia*. One is therefore grateful to Struthers Burt for using his gifts as a novelist to tell the life-story of Penn's "green countrie towne." He modestly protests that he has not written a history but rather "a sort of civic biography," the implication apparently being that in a biography one does not need to be so careful about the facts. "Unfortunately the moment one touches upon facts," he writes disarmingly, ". . . the wolves gather. They are welcome to any bone they can find, so long as they don't bring it back to my doorstep. They will probably find a lot." (p. 14.) As a matter of fact, your reviewer can find no historical bones of any size to pick with Mr. Burt, although he would not be true to his vulpine instincts if he neglected to point out a few trivial errors such as that the Dunkers are not the Brethren in Christ (p. 61), and that David Lloyd was never Governor (p. 286).

If there are any deficiencies in this delightfully informal book, they lie not primarily in the historian's field of factual accuracy, but in the novelist's field of unity and plot structure. The author betrays rather too much of the antiquarian's concern with remote periods and fails to do justice to the more recent past; he devotes three of his four hundred pages to colonial Philadelphia and only a scant hundred to the century and a half that witnessed the emergence and growth of the modern city, though he does manage to insinuate a certain amount of incidental information about modern Philadelphia into his earlier chapters. The other major criticism is that he frequently digresses from his main theme and drags in incidents only remotely connected with the development of Philadelphia—the Yankee-Pennamite wars, for example, or Penn's difficulties with his steward.

In assessing the contribution of Friends to the growth of Philadelphia, he overlooks no occasion to criticize their peace testimony. Indeed on page 55 he ascribes "the supineness of Philadelphia politics" to their non-resistant philosophy, although on page 113 he rather inconsistently admits that Quakers are really pretty combative folk. On the credit side he mentions the tolerance, the good sense and charity, the concern for education, and the cooking of the Quakers. And he offers a backhanded compliment whose implications Friends will do well to ponder when he says that they are "invariably outstanding and noble, once something has happened."

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In Downcast Germany, 1919-1933, by Joan Mary Fry. London, James Clarke and Company, Ltd., [1944]. 146 pp. 3s. 6d.

THIS is a well-told record of the visits which a brilliant and spiritually sensitive Quaker woman made inside Germany during the years between the first world war and the advent of Hitler's rule. It should be read along with Elizabeth Fox Howard's *Across Barriers* which appeared a year ago in order to get the full span of English Quaker concern on Germany between these two wars.

Joan Fry's insight into the German mind's response to military defeat, to occupation by foreign troops, to girding itself for its new experiment in government is profound. One of her audience told her after a meeting that not only was the physical soil of Germany terribly depleted after five years of continuous cropping with very little replenishment of its fertility, but that the very soil of their mind and spirit was worn out.

The book documents the alleged division of labor between British and American Friends whereby the latter were principally absorbed in the administration of a vast child-feeding project, while the former, although engaged in some small relief projects especially in connection with student feeding, felt a special concern for ministering to the ideological and spiritual needs of the Germans. Joan Fry's account of the large number of meetings addressed and of her attempt at orally interpreting the spiritual and social aspects of the Quaker approach to life occupies much of the book. Without the American child-feeding the Germans would have had no great convincing public demonstration of these principles at work, but it can be also emphasized that without the interpretative work of Joan Fry and others of her persuasion, it is doubtful if the little nucleus out of which the German Yearly Meeting sprang could have been rallied.

Appearing at an hour when the balancing of these two functions is again a central problem of Quaker foreign service, this book with its rich insight will be eagerly read and pondered.

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BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

THE *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, vol. 13 (1944), pp. 94-106, contains an article by James A. Muller on "George Keith (1638-1716), First S. P. G. Missionary to America." It is based in part on E. W. Kirby's recent biography though it criticizes and supplements that work. The new material appears to be quotations in his own words of Keith's criticisms of Quakerism.

ANNA ELIZABETH DICKINSON (1842-1932) was a birthright Philadelphia Friend who at the age of eighteen turned to a career as orator. She spoke first against slavery, then against the Democrats in the elections of 1862-3, and then against Lincoln's party within the Republican ranks. James Harvey Young has written in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 31 (1944), pp. 59-80, about this part of her life under the title "Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and the Civil War; for and against Lincoln." His sources are newspapers and letters, and especially her own manuscripts and scrap-books now at the Library of Congress. The brief account of A. E. Dickinson in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement One (vol. 21, 1944) is by the same author.

"CHARLES FOTHERGILL 1782-1840" is the subject of an article with portrait in *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 25 (1944), pp. 376-396. The author, James L. Baillie, Jr., relying upon sixteen holograph manuscripts by him, discovered since 1931, and other sources, describes him as a figure of importance in the history of Upper Canada and as the author of practically the only account of the animal life of the Province. His father and earlier forbears were Friends, Dr. John Fothergill being a great uncle. His interest in breeding race-horses in Yorkshire is said to have been responsible for his virtual banishment from the sect and from England, but his interest in science was characteristic both of his family and of their religion. He came to Canada in 1816 and held various offices and engaged in various personal enterprises.

PENNSYLVANIA Quaker family and religious life in the latter half of the eighteenth century is portrayed in dark colors in "Early Days of the Ingham Family in Bucks County," by Joseph F. Ingham, in collaboration with Francis R. Taylor, *Old York Road Historical Society Bulletin*, 6 (1942): 45-64. This article is made up largely of excerpts from an autobiographical memoir of Jonas Ingham, born 1746. It is a document of great significance, principally because it reveals at first hand aspects of eighteenth-century human relations which are omitted in most secondary accounts of the times. Jonas Ingham's wife's name is erroneously given as Rebecca Beaumont (p. 57). The manuscript copy of his

memoir, in private possession, indicates that Jonas married Rebecca's sister, Elizabeth. Microfilm copies of the manuscript have recently been presented by Francis R. Taylor to the Haverford and Swarthmore libraries.

MERION MEETING, founded in 1695 by Welsh Quakers in the Welsh Tract just west of Philadelphia, celebrated its "Quarter Millennium," or 250th anniversary, on September 16, 1945. An account of the ceremonies, which was held in the old meeting house, appeared in the *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 102 (Tenth Month 6, 1945), p. 645. Former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts spoke on "Friends of Peace." Rufus M. Jones spoke on the subject, "Great Expectations for the New Day." In connection with the anniversary the Meeting published an interesting sixteen-page booklet by Samuel J. Bunting, Jr., *Merion Meeting House 1695-1945: A Study of Evidence Relating to the Date* (Merion Friends' Meeting, Merion, Pa.). The available evidence, while not conclusive, seems to point to 1695 as the date for the construction of the original east wing, while the "crossing and transepts" were added in 1712. Photographs of the building, as it now stands and before the outside walls were plastered, are included in the booklet.

GENEALOGICAL information about the Hampton family is to be found in a book by Vernon Boyce Hampton entitled *In the Footsteps of Joseph Hampton and the Pennsylvania Quakers* (Doylestown, Pa., The Bucks County Historical Society, 1940). John, the pioneer of the Hampton family, came to America from Scotland in 1682, and purchased land from the Scottish Proprietors of East Jersey. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and the meeting records contain references to his activities. His son Joseph, born in 1702, moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and was a founder and elder of Wrightstown Friends Meeting, as well as a prominent colonial legislator, progressive landholder, and business man. Later generations of the Hampton family moved to South and Central New Jersey as well as to Ohio. One of the most noted descendants of Joseph Hampton was John Comly, Friends minister and teacher at Westtown School.

MORE BOOKS, the bulletin of the Boston Public Library, claiming that that Library has the largest and most important mass of material for a study of the subject, publishes in instalments an article by Janet Wilson on "Early Anti-Slavery Propaganda" (vol. 19 (1944), pp. 343-360, 393-405; vol. 20 (1945), pp. 51-67). The basis of the study is three manuscript notebooks of minutes of the American Anti-Slavery Society, its Executive Committee and Committees on Agencies. But letters already in print are used. Even where Quakers like Whittier are not directly involved (his broadside "Our Countrymen in Chains" is reproduced on p. 349) the material is closely connected with the interests and problems of Quakerism between 1833 and 1841.